1. The country and the people

> "... I took a new road direct to Gombe through the countries of the cannibal tribes Yemyem and Tangale very seldom even visited by the inhabitants of the surrounding country. The Country is very mountainous and the travelling extremely difficult. The Tangale inhabit a high chain of mountains on the shores of the Benoe with a superb peak very much resembling the Adam Peak in the island of Ceylon."
> (Eduard Vogel in a letter from Kouka to Consul Herman, Dec. 4, 1855.)

1.1 Tangale country lies some 30-40 miles south of Gombe - 9°50's. Lat. and 11°10' w. Long. - in a hilly landscape the outstanding landmark of which is the Tangale Peak (ca.1300 m). It forms part of the former Tangale-Waja District in Bauchi State, North-eastern Nigeria. What was still a sandy track in 1962 when I first came to the country is now a tarred road that leads from Bauchi to Gombe and further on southwards to Billiri and Kaltungo, and then continues in a southeasterly direction to Numan and Yola on the Benue River. The main division linguistically as well as politically within the Tangale speaking area, which comprises some 30 villages with a total population of approximately 70.000 people, is between Billiri (Biliri) in the northwest and Kaltungo in the southeast. According to certain historical traditions (cf. Sailer Mabudi 1980) the Tangale originated in Mak in Borno and migrated - in seven stages - via Biu to a place called Kalshingi where they mixed with the Jukun people of Pindiga and then moved to the Tungo and Dikki hills whence they descended to establish the present villages of Ture, Shongom and Kaltungo on the one hand and Billiri, Bare, Tal (and Tanglang, Kalmai and Banganje) on the other. Kaltungo today is a growing town comprising the residence of a Chief (Emir), several schools, including the Teachers Training College (T.T.C., today W.T.C.), the (formerly Mission) hospital, the State Hotel (formerly Rest House) and a number of churches. Administratively, Shongom which lies to the south (close to the Tangale Peak) as well as Ture situated along the main Gombe-Numan road come under Kaltungo. Linguistically, there seem to be less dialectal differences between Kaltungo town and Ture as there are between Kaltungo town and Shongom.

1.2 Within Kaltungo town the following quarters - with minor dialectal particularities - exist:

Banganje	*(ḅaṇanjẹ)*
Termana	*(tẹrmána)*
Kalarin	*(kalarîṇ)*

Lapandim tai	*(la-pandím tai)*
Aya	*(aya)*
Posheren	*(pọ-shẹrẹn)*
Popandi	*(pọ-pandị)*
Kalorgu	*(kalọrgụ).*

1.2.1 In Shongom the main sections are:

Lapan	*(lapáàn)*
Layenge	*(layẹnẹ)*
Bo	*(ḅoo)*
Kulishin	*(kulishin)*
Kalishin	*(kalịshịn).*

1.2.2 The main sections in Ture *(túure)* are:

Pandi	*(pandị)*
Okra	*(ọkra)*
Balam	*(ḅálam)*
Kwe	*(kwẹ).*

These sections are again subdivided in clan-like groups which, e.g. for Ture-Pandi, are the following *(ọk(ọ)* 'way, path, line'):

	having as its totem the
Ọk-Tuldịn	brown monkey
Ọk-Alduk	brown monkey
Ọk-Dwaalẹ	brown monkey
Ọk-Kalakụ	python
Ọk-Ḅẹlaṇa	African black kite.

2. The language and its dialects

2.1 Tangale *(taṇlẹ)* is classified as a language of the Bole-Tangale group of West Chadic (cf. Hoffmann 1971, Newman 1977, Jungraithmayr/Shimizu 1981). Tangale is surrounded by Niger-Congo languages, a fact that may explain a number of features which distinguish it from its northern sister languages. Among the languages and dialect clusters next related to Tangale are Kwami, Kupto, Kushi, Pero, Piya (Wurkum) and Kanakuru/Dera.

2.2 Tangale represents a dialect cluster consisting of two principal dialect areas, that is Western Tangale or Billiri (Biliri) and Eastern Tangale or Kaltungo - together with

Ture and Shongom, both deviating considerably in some respects from the Kaltungo type (cf. Kidda 1985).

Only very late I became aware of sub-dialectal differences which even prevail among the various clan-like communities within Kaltungo town (see above), e.g. between Termana and Banganje. Differences like between *ka, ki* and *ku* in the 2nd m. sing. pronouns may occur within the Kaltungo dialect (cluster). Another isogloss is the prefixed morpheme for 'inside', preferably though not exclusively used in the following three localities:

	Kaltungo	Shongom	Ture	
	kaa-	*la-*	*tá-*	
e.g.	*kaa-mána*	*la-mána*	*tá-mána*	inside the house.

The Billiri subdialects are more conservative than those of Eastern Tangale; cf. e.g.

Billiri	Kaltungo	
yẹẹ	*ẹẹ*	to drink
sịsẹ	*yịsẹ/hịsẹ/ịsẹ*	to sneeze.

Thus, Billiri still preserves a palatal glide (*/y/*) - derived from the Chadic fricative */s/* - which in Kaltungo has gone to zero (or a glottal stop?); cf. Hausa *shaa* 'to drink'. Parallel to that, Billiri initial */s/*, */h/* or */ʔ/* becomes */y/* in Kaltungo. Lexically, typical isoglosses of Billiri and Kaltungo dialects are e.g. *pụda/pisi* for 'sun' and *táịmọ/táijẹ* for 'this (one)'. Billiri-Tangale is often referred to as 'Tangale' - especially by the Billiri people themselves - whereas the Kaltungo form of the language is just called 'Kaltungo'. As most of my informants come from Kaltungo-town - N. Andirya Galadima is a Banganje man -, the bulk of the entries in this dictionary represent the Kaltungo dialect(s). Other dialectal forms are given; they are marked by (S) = Shongom and (T) = Ture, respectively; rarely there are also Billiri items (Bi) cited.

3. Phonological and prosodological remarks

3.1 Mairo Kidda's 'Tangale Phonology: A Descriptive Analysis' (unpubl. dissertation, 1985) is, although almost exclusively concerned with Shongom-Tangale, the most comprehensive study of phonological features and processes in Tangale available. The following presentation is but a short overview of the essential issues, with special reference to Kaltungo-Tangale; for more details and also general argumentation, however, see Kidda's study.

3.2 Tangale has a particularly rich sound system. There are nine short and nine long vowel phonemes, and a vowel harmony system hardly found elsewhere in Chadic; glottalized, labialized and prenasalized consonants, many of them also geminated; and there are complicated processes of morphophonological changes like deletion and apocopation ('clipping'), vowel epenthesis, and what we may call initial consonant permutation.

3.2.1 Consonants

	Bilab.	Alveol.	Palat.	Velar	Laryng.
Plosives	*p*	*t*		*k*	*ʔ*
	b	*d*		*g*	
	ḅ	*ḍ*			
	mb	*nd*	*nj*	*(ng)*	
	bw	*tw*		*kw*	
		dw		*gw*	
Affricate			*j*		
Fricatives		*s*	*sh*		*h*
		z			
		sw			
Nasals	*m*	*n*	*ny*	*ṇ*	
				ṇw	
Liquids		*l*			
		r			
		rw			
Semivowels	*w*		*y*		

The acoustic difference between *b* and *ḅ*, and *d* and *ḍ*, respectively, is rather small. It appears that every *b* and *d* in initial position carries some glottalic feature which, however, has no phonemic value in general; in a few instances - see under *ḅ* and *ḍ* in the dictionary - the glottalic mark was so strong that we considered it advisable to - provisionally - range them under *ḅ* and *ḍ*, respectively. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that *ḅ* and *ḍ* have a phonemic status in intervocalic position; cf. for instance

wịdị breast : *wịdị* tears.

A regular morphophonemic contrast is established where the only means of pluralization is glottalization of the verb-base-final consonants *b* and *d* (cf. 4.3.3.6); e.g. *tịblẹ* (sg.) */tịḅlẹ* (pl.) 'to cut'.

The fricative *h* displays some instability insofar as it may alternate with *y* ; e.g. *hịsẹ* or *yịsẹ* 'to sneeze'. There is also some degree of free variation between *s* and its palatalized counterpart *sh*.

The phonemic status of the glottal stop in Tangale has been convincingly demonstrated by Mairo Kidda, op. cit. Phonetically, ' stands for the glottalized consonants *ƀ* and *ɗ* when they are shifted to syllable-final position; e.g. *keɗe* → *ke'keɗe*. In verb- stem-final position the glottal stop marks intransitivity and passivity, in certain cases accompagnied by a change of tone on the stem vowel. For orthographic reasons, it is not explicitly written; e.g.

daụdẹ	to abuse	:	*daụdẹ* [*daụdẹ'*]	to be abused
yaa	to do	:	*yáà* [*yáà'*]	to be done.

All 'plain' consonants may also occur as geminated; e.g.

pụlẹ	to command	:	*pụllẹ*	to peel
tuko	to have pounded	:	*tukko*	to have hidden
salẹ	to set a trap	:	*sallẹ*	to despise.

In addition to the series of 'plain' or 'simple' consonants, many of them may also occur in a labialized shape; e.g. *kwee* 'to fetch water', *kwakẹ* 'to scratch', *swadị* 'to scatter', *rwabị* 'to cut hair'. Palatalization, however, does not seem to play a significant role.

Prenasalisation occurs with *b, d, g* and *j* (or *s*): *mb, nd, ṇ(g)* and *nj* are to be found usually in intervocalic position; word-initially they are conditioned allophones of the corresponding stops, voiced or voiceless; e.g.

mum káayị / mum gáayị / mum ṇ(g)áayị useless person.

In word-initial position, plosives, fricatives and the affricate undergo the following permutation when preceded by a vowel:

p → *b* → *mb*
t → *d* → *nd*
k → *g* → *(ṇg)* → *ṇ*
s → *(z)* → *nj*

Examples:

pugum	blindness	:	*ana-mbugum*	blind person
tákarda	book	:	*ana-ndákarda*	teacher
kẹbẹ	greediness	:	*ana-ṇẹbẹ*	greedy person
sẹprị	investigation	:	*ana-njẹpụr-saba*	investigator

Certain consonant clusters are dissolved either a) by deletion of the second consonant - *b* or *d* after a nasal as first consonant - or b) by vowel epenthesis.

a) Homorganic stop deletion:

ambẹ	to climb	:	*amgọ* (< **ambgọ*)	have climbed.

b) Vowel epenthesis:

amdẹ	to like	:	*amụdgọ* (< **amdgọ*)	have liked.

Voiced consonants, especially *b* and *d*, are also deleted when they are followed by the voiceless fricative *s* of the past participle suffix *-si/-sị*; e.g.

lọbị	to agree	:	*lọ-sị*	agreed
laadẹ	to hide	:	*laa-sị*	hidden
mụdẹ	to die	:	*mụ-sị*	dead
madị	to save	:	*ma-sị*	saved
maadẹ	to count	:	*maa-sị*	counted.

Another deletion rule causes *n* and *y* to disappear in front of any following complement, e.g.

mána	house	:	*má tọ́nọ*	smithy (*lit.* house of smith)
míye	people	:	*mí mọ mána*	people of the house.

3.2.2 Vowels

The Tangale vowel system distinguishes 9 short and 9 long vowels:

The following minimal (or almost minimal) pairs attest the phonemic status of vowel length:

kabị	to cut	*kaabị*	sowing (v.n.)
sẹrị	to stand	*sẹẹrẹ*	to tell
pịdẹ	to open (wound)	*pịịdẹ*	to fart.

3.2.2.1 Vowel harmony

On the grounds of their distribution, the nine vowels belong to two different sets which mutually exclude each other within word boundaries. These two sets can be differentiated by the articulatory feature /ATR/ (advanced tongue root position), or, as has been done in earlier publications, by the pair of terms close/open[5].

/+ATR/ (close)			/-ATR/ (open)		
i		*u*	*ị*		*ụ*
	e *o*			*ẹ* *ọ*	
				a	

In some publications the open vowels or those of the /-ATR/ set are written with the following graphemes:

ɪ		ʊ
	ɛ ɔ	
	a	

As the standard typewriter does not show symbols like those presented last, we adopted here the already established way of marking the open set (/-ATR/) by dots under the vowels which has been successfully used for other Nigerian vowel harmony languages. From the statistical point of view it would be more economical for the Tangale language to mark the /+ATR/ set as they are by far less in number. But the phonetic value of the dots under vowels in all other languages is /-ATR/.

As to the nature and functioning of the vowel harmony system it may first be generally stated that the vowels of nominal or verbal stems all have to be of the same set, and all vowels in affixes have to harmonize with those of the stem. Thus, each affix comes in two

5 Although laboratory measurements have not been carried out yet, we feel it is safe to assume that /ATR/ is the relevant articulatory feature. Mairo Kidda (1985) provides in her study similar findings. As Tangale seems to be the only Chadic language with a nine-vowel harmony system, which is typical for a great number of Niger-Congo languages, it is interesting to note that neighbouring Adamawa languages, a branch of Niger-Congo, have similar vowel systems.

forms which are mutually exclusive with regard to their respective fields of application: one with a close vowel (/+ATR/), the other with an open vowel (/-ATR/) - with the exception of /a/ which is neutral if contained in an affix but takes harmony with the open vowel set when a stem vowel.

- /a/ as an affix vowel:

kule	cat	*la-kule*	(small) cat
pure	grave	*ana-mbure*	spirit of deceased
dob-i	to call	*dop-a*	to be called.

- /a/ as a stem vowel:

lal-ẹ, v.n. *lal-ị*, pass. *lal-ọ*	to build
sab-a, def. *sab-ị*	word, speech.

The vowels of all other suffixes are in harmony with the respective stem vowel; e.g.

pet-e	v.n. *pet-i*	pass. *pet-o*	to cut corn
pẹt-ẹ	v.n. *pẹt-ị*	pass. *pẹt-ọ*	to reach
pug-e	v.n. *púg-i*	pass. *púg-o*	to fan
pụg-ẹ	v.n. *pụ́g-ị*	pass. *pụ́g-ọ*	to scatter.

Unfortunately, the first attempt to write down the Tangale vowels by the Reverend John S. Hall and his collaborators, though meritorious as it was, was underdifferentiating with respect to the vowels. Only 7 vowels were written. Both high front vowels, /i/ and its /-ATR/ or open counterpart /ị/, were written with the same grapheme *'i'*, but they can in many cases be differentiated by vowel harmony. The writing they adopted of the back vowels is by far more complicated. The authors of the early S.I.M. publications used only two different graphemes to represent three different vowel phonemes. The grapheme of the high back vowel *'u'* represents the two vowel phonemes /u/ and /o/, and the grapheme of the mid back vowel *'o'* is representing the vowel phoneme high back /-ATR/ (open) /ụ/ (and maybe sometimes /o/).

Thus: written *'u'* is pronounced /u/ or /o/ and
written *'o'* is pronounced /ụ/ (or /o/ ?).

Examples:

unuki	= *onuki* < *oni*	to give
puduk dilu	= *poduk dilo*	to pray
wotẹn	= *wụtẹn*	work.

Probably Rev. Hall and his collaborators were misled by various factors. Assuming that they did not know anything about the articulatory difference of the two vowel sets in vowel harmony systems (of which at the time of their work on Tangale little was known about), they had to judge the vowel phonemes in question by their audible impact only. As acoustic measurements from other languages have shown, Tangale is not the only vowel harmony language where the /+ATR/ mid back vowel /o/ seems to sound "higher" than the /-ATR/ high back vowel /ụ/. So acoustically, judging the vowel "height" only, /o/ in Tangale may be considered as "higher" than /ụ/, thus misinterpreting the /-ATR/ high back vowel /ụ/ as a vowel of medium grade of aperture which can be represented by *'o'*.

Since the bible was printed in 1945 (with a second edition in 1953) the use of Tangale in church has been well established. Hymns have been written and printed by the church elders, reading and writing has been exercised. All these activities are based on the above mentioned problems concerning the spelling, i.e. the vowels /o/, /ụ/ and /u/. People seem to have got used to it. When working with the principal collaborator, N. Andirya Galadima, who has been trained reading and writing in this fashion, it was noted, that he was well aware of the different vowel phonemes hidden behind the grapheme *'u'*. So when asked to distinguish between them, he used the grapheme *'ụ'* for /o/ (setting a dot underneath), giving rise to the following vowel system (the vowel harmony sets according to the writings of S.I.M./E.C.W.A. Kaltungo):

	/+ATR/ (close)			/-ATR/ (open)		
high:	*i*		*u*	*i*		*'o'*
mid:	*e*	*'ụ'*		*ẹ*	*ọ*	
low:					*a*	

Note: The high vowels /ị/ and /i/ are usually not differentiated, both being represented by *'i'*.

Apart from inconsistencies regarding the marking of vowels for the feature /ATR/ (e.g. a dot under a vowel does not mean the same with different vowels) and related difficulties with the vowel harmony, this way of transcribing the vowel phonemes involves the danger of misunderstandings, as a dot may easily be forgotten and in the case of /u/ or /o/ not even a violation of harmony rules would arise, so that the mistake may not be recognized, especially not by a person who is unfamiliar with the language. Likewise the transcription of loanwords in Tangale (Kaltungo dialect) would give rise to unneccessary speculations of vowel quality shifts; e.g.

**bụrgụ*	blanket	←	Hausa	*borgoo*
**rụụgụ*	cassava	←	Hausa	*roogoo.*

Considering the impact a dictionary has on the development of a language and also on the research into the other dialects of Tangale, and also taking under consideration the usefulness for students, scientists and others, who are not familiar with the peculiar vowel-writing of the past, we have decided to change the graphemes according to its use in other languages. Thus the graphemes *'ụ'* and *'o'* change places and the vowel system is written as presented at the beginning of this chapter.

3.2.2.2 Vowel deletion and apocopation

All verb and most nominal stems ending in a vowel lose the latter when any kind of complement, i.e. object or genitival noun, qualifiying noun or suffixes are added. This is what Rev. Hall in his time called 'vowel clipping' and what is known as final vowel deletion or apocopation today; e.g.

aarẹ	to dry	*aar-sị*	dry (adj.).

The clipping does not take place with monoradical verbs when a suffix is added; e.g.

yaa	to do	*yaa-gọ*	have done
ẹẹ	to drink	*ẹẹ-zị*	drinking
saa	to eat	*saa-nị*	eating.

However, the long vowel is shortened in front of a nominal object; e.g.

yaa	to do	*yá wụtẹn*	to do work
ẹẹ	to drink	*ẹ âm*	to drink water.

This shortening process also takes place with a few monoradical nominal stems which end in a long vowel in prepausal position but which are shortened in any kind of non-final position; e.g.

waa	thing	*wa mọ njáana*	thing to eat
muu	person	*mu mọ pára*	hunter.

The shortening effect occurs also with certain nominal compositions where a long vowel is shortened even in prepausal position; e.g.

layị	to give birth	*ana-laị*	parents
tiye	to herd	*ana-ndii*	herdsman
waa	thing	*ana-ndap-wâ*	s.o. who takes s.th. left behind.

3.3 Tone

There are two pertinent tone levels to be distinguished, low (unmarked) and high *(á)*. Statistically most syllables in the language (probably more than 80%) are low (or, tonetically, mid). Thus, to a certain extent, the low tone may be taken as basic ('normal'), unmarked and the high tone as marked. Phonemic tone functions on the lexical as well as on the grammatical level.

3.3.1 Examples of lexical tone relevance

pugut	uncleanliness	:	*púgut*	shrub
sọọ	planting	:	*sǫ́ǫ̀*	afraid
mansị	old	:	*mánsị*	yours (f.)
mẹndọ	be scattered	:	*mḗndọ*	her beer
mẹẹ	husband	:	*mḗḕ*	goat.

Besides high and low there is also a high-low falling tone which is very often of a secondary nature, i.e. the tone patterns of certain grammatical forms generate a high tone from a low tone; if it is only monosyllabic the low tone is raised to high-low falling; e.g.

ádị́ kộn	climbing is good
ádị kǫ́nụm	climbing is not good.

There is no raising of the following tone, however, if the intransitive-passive stem precedes; e.g.

ádọ kọn	climbing is good
ádọ kọnụm	climbing is not good.

Generally the high tone of *á* 'it is' causes the following low syllable to become high (or high-low falling); e.g.

aị	millet	:	*á áị̀*	it is millet.

The same tonal change occurs with adjectives when they are in a predicative position; e.g.

land sẹ́ táịdaị	this cloth is reddish; but
landám taịdaị	a reddish cloth.

3.3.2 Examples of grammatically relevant tones

bẹrị	to compose	:	*bẹ́rị*	composing (v.n.)
bẹr wólo	compose a song	:	*bẹ́r wólo*	act of composing a song.

4. Notes on Morphology

With regard to segmental differentiation, emphasis in Tangale morphology lies much more in the verbal sphere than in the nominal. There is hardly any formal distinction with regard to gender and number in the noun; there is, however, masc./fem. distinction in the 2nd and 3rd persons of the pronoun. Thus, we can deduct from a noun-pronoun concord that most nouns are considered to have feminine gender; **e.g.**

lọ kwaḍụrgọ (< **kwaḍ-ụ-t-gọ*)	meat has finished (*-t-* being the suffixed fem. subject pron.)
wịd kwaḍụrgọ	milk has finished
yaụl kwaḍụrgọ	firewood has finished
dọm kwaḍụrgọ	eggs have finished.

In the verb the language distinguishes active and passive voice as well as intransitivity. The conjugational sets comprise eight persons.

4.1 Noun and nominals

Unlike Hausa nouns which generally end in a vowel, Tangale nouns display both open and closed word-final syllabic structures. Gender and number are not overtly marked.

Nouns ending in a vowel		Nouns ending in a consonant	
saa	net	*am*	water
kịị	head	*ik*	body
amị	width	*sẹn*	wisdom
ido	eye	*pọk*	mouth, front
sẹnẹ	rainy season	*amak*	egg

pịdị	place	*aduk*	load
lawọ	child	*káalak*	water pot
káarwa	cattle	*keldûm*	ram
sịịlọ	testicles	*púgut*	shrub
kwigni	snake *sp.*	*njịkdịk*	guinea-worm
kẹbnẹ	buffalo	*kẹkẹrẹk*	mahogany tree.

The following disyllabic types of simple, non-composed nouns are prevalent: CVCV, CVVCV, CVCCV, VCVC, CVCVC, CVCCVC and CVVCVC. Monosyllabic nouns of the type CVV and CVC are limited in number though their use is not infrequent.

4.1.1 Compound and derived nouns

Polysyllabic nouns are formed by means of certain prefixes; e.g.

- *ana-*, a prefix denoting nouns of ownership or agent:

		Based on	
analala	potter	*lala*	pot
anambada	sick person	*pada*	sickness
ananjiri	thief	*siri*	*theft*
anambọ-	duke (person going	*pọ(k)*	front
tụụz-máị	in front of chief's	*tụụzẹ*	horse
	horse)	*maị*	chief.

- *la-* (< *lawọ* 'child'), a prefix denoting smallness:

la-lawọ	small child	*lawọ*	child
la-mọlẹ	younger brother	*mọlẹ*	brother
la-rim	a bit dark	*rim*	dark
la-kọn	somewhat good	*kọn*	good.

- *pọ-* (< *pọk* 'mouth, front'), a prefix denoting 'frontness', etc.:

pọ-wịdị	nipple	*wịdị*	breast
pọ-sịn	sternum	*sịn*	?

4.1.2 Derived nouns

The following noun/verb pairs have been observed (it is not absolutely clear which word class is basic):

lengthened - either by lengthening the vowel, when the final consonant is voiceless, or by doubling or even trebling the final consonant (mostly liquids or nasals). The tonal structure is low throughout. Examples:

kazaak/kazak-kazak	clean, clear, pure
karaṇṇ/karaṇ-karaṇ	clean, pure
kọrọll/kọrọl-kọrọl	exactly round
kudill/kudil-kudil	very quickly
kuluuk/kuluk-kuluk	thundering at a distance
kundull/kundul-kundul	moving with loads
ladaak/ladak-ladak	very softly
pọrọll/pọrọl-pọrọl	very red
salamm/salam-salam	clean
ruḍull/ruḍul-ruḍul	huge
kwịṇṇ/kwịṇgwịṇ	properly.

Examples displaying final vowel structure:

rịgzaa/rịgza-rịgza	running in groups
ragdaa/ragụd-ragda	distantly.

4.1.5 The definite form

The only morpheme marking 'definiteness' of a noun is the suffix *-i/-ị*. It is generally suffixed to the nominal base thus replacing the indefinite suffix; e.g.

agọ	stomach	*agị*	the stomach
kalda	wild-cat	*kaldị*	the wild-cat
baana	beads	*baanị*	the beads.

When the noun ends in a consonant or a semivowel, *-i/-ị* is simply suffixed to this; e.g.

ik	body	*ikí*	the body
pọk	mouth	*pọkí*	the mouth
kei (= *key*)	fight	*keyi*	the fight
sẹn	wisdom	*sẹnị*	the wisdom
(cf. *sẹnẹ*	rainy season	*sẹnị*	the rainy saison)
atáụ̀ (= *atâw*)	straw mat	*atáwị*	the straw mat
baị (= *bay*)	dog	*bayị*	the dog
njiu (= *njiw*)	shrub *sp.*	*njiwi*	the shrub.

In certain cases, where the final vowel of the indefinite form may form part of the nominal root or stem, the definite marking vowel is added to the stem vowel either by means of an auxiliary glide *-y-*, or directly, thus either forming a diphthong or producing a long vowel; e.g.

-	*pǫǫ*	porridge	*pǫǫyị*	the porridge
	pụ	tuber *sp.*	*pụyị*	the tuber
	kulê	club	*kuléyi*	the club
	haaláà	stick	*haaláayị*	the stick
	mę́ę̀	goat	*mę́ę̀yị*	the goat
-	*lawọ*	child	*lawę́ị* (< **lawọ-í*)	the child
	ọkọ	way	*ọkę́ị*	the way
	ido	eye	*idéi*	the eye
	káarwa	cattle	*káarwáị*	the cattle
	kụbọ	penis	*kụbę́ị*	the penis
	pụda	sun	*pụdę́ị*	the sun
	sęęrọ	friend	*sęęrę́ị*	the friend
	kębę	mind	*kębę́ị*	the mind
	(cf. *kębę*	greediness	*kębị*	the greediness).
-	*kụrị*	herd	*kụrịị*	the herd
	sịịlị	grossly enlarged testicles	*sịịlịị*	the grossly enlarged testicles
	(cf. *sịịlọ*	testicles	*sịịlę́ị*	the testicles)
	kǫ́lị	remainder	*kǫ́lịị*	the remainder.

The *-i/-ị* as suffixed in the second group seems to be accompanied by a high tone; an exception may be *pịdị* 'place', *pịdẹị* 'the place'.

So far, only one irregular case of marking the definite form by the suffix *-i/-ị* has been observed:

męę	husband	*męmî*	the husband.

4.2 Pronoun

The pronominal system comprises eight persons, gender being marked in the 2nd and 3rd persons singular. There are slightly different sub-sets of pronouns within the main

pronominal categories, sometimes only distinguished by tone. The following presentation is to some extent preliminary since subdialectal differences - such as *ka/ku* in the 2nd person singular masculin - have not yet been systematically studied.

4.2.1 The absolute or independent pronoun

There are at least three slightly variant sets of absolute pronouns used in different morphosyntactic environments.

4.2.1.1 Set 1

Sg. 1	*n*	e.g. *n dǫ́-nǫ*	I alone
2m	*ka/ga/ṇa*	*ka dǫ́-kǫ*	you alone
2f	*sị/jị/njị*	*sị dǫ́-sị*	you alone
3m	*mbɛ́ɛ̣ndám*	*mbɛ́ɛ̣ndám dǫ́-nị*	he alone
3f	*mbáastám*	*mbáastám dǫ́-tǫ*	she alone
Pl. 1	*mịn*	*mịn dǫ́-mụ*	we alone
2	*ma*	*ma dǫ́-kụ*	you alone
3	*anambɛ̣ɛ̣n*	*anambɛ̣ɛ̣n dǫ́-wụ*	they alone.

4.2.1.2 Set 2

Sg. 1	*na*	e.g. *na koobo*	(as, while) I am passing
2m	*ká/gá/ṇá*	*ká koobo*	(as, while) you are passing
2f	*sɨ́/jɨ́/njɨ́*	etc.	
3m	*mbɛ́ɛ̣ndâm*		
3f	*mbáastâm*		
Pl. 1	*mịnɨ́*		
2	*máa*		
3	*anambɛ̣ɛ̣na.*		

4.2.1.3 Set 3

Sg. 1	*na*	e.g. *ka na*	with me
2m	*ka/ga/ṇa*	*ka ṇa*	with you
2f	*sị/jị/njị*	*ka njị*	etc.
3m	*yi*	*ka yi*	
3f	*ta/da/nda*	*ka nda*	

Pl. 1	*mịnị*	*ka mịnị*
2	*ma(ga)*	*ka ma(ga)*
3	*yini/hini*	*ka yini/hini.*

Note: *maga ka na* or *ma ká na* 'you with me'.

4.2.1.4 The reflexive pronoun

Sg. 1	*ná*	e.g. *ná wọọk kịị-nọ*	I myself (*lit.* I hair-head-my)
2m	*ká*	*ká wọọk kịị-gọ*	you yourself
2f	*sị*	*sị wọọk kịị-zị*	etc.
3m	*mbẹ́ẹndâm*	*mbẹ́ẹndâm wọọk kịị-nị*	
3f	*mbáastâm*	*mbáastâm wọọk kịị-dọ*	
Pl. 1	*mịnị́*	*mịnị́ wọọk kịị-mụ*	
2	*magá/máa*	*magá/máa wọọk kịị-gụ*	
3	*anambẹẹna*	*anambẹẹna wọọk kịị-wụ.*	

4.2.2 The subject pronouns

Different tenses use slightly variant shapes of subject pronouns. The following subject pronominal sets are present:

4.2.2.1 The Intentional ('Short Future') set

Sg. 1	*na / n*
2m	*ka*
2f	*sị*
3m	*mbẹ́ẹndám (mbẹ́ẹndâm ...)*
3f	*mbáastám (mbáastâm ...)*
Pl. 1	*mịn*
2	*ma*
3	*mbíindám/mbíindâm/anambẹẹn.*

In the 1st person singular the shortened form *n* also occurs, although as a rule this marks the aorist (see the following section). Thus 'I will take (it)' may be rendered either by *na yịlẹ or n yịlẹ*, but 'I take/took' only by *n yịlẹ.*

4.2.2.2 The Aorist set

The aorist set is identical with the intentional set (above), except for the 1st person singular which is regularly shortened to *n* ['*n*]; e.g.

n saa	I ate/eat
n sá pọọ	I ate/eat porridge
n yịlẹ	I took/take
n nẹ́ saba	I said/say a word
n ẹ́ am	I drank/drink water
n yá wụtẹn	I did/do (some) work.

4.2.2.3 The Subjunctive set

The shape of the pronouns of this set varies according to whether they have to be preceded by an introductory morpheme or not. Thus we may distinguish between an independent subjunctive pronominal set and a dependent one.

- The independent set

Sg. 1	*na*	e.g.	*na nẹ́ saba*	I should speak
2m	*ka*		*ka nẹ́ saba*	you should speak
2f	*sị*		*sị nẹ́ saba*	you should speak
3m	*yi*		etc.	
3f	*ta*			
Pl. 1	*mịn*			
2	*ma*			
3	*hin.*			

- The dependent set

	(a)		(b)	
Sg. 1	*mọ́-n*	... that I should ...	*ká-n*	... said/says I should ...
2m	*mọ́-k*	etc.	*ka-k*	etc.
2f	*mọ́-s*		*ka-s*	
3m	*ḿ-pẹ́ẹm*		*kâ mbẹ́ẹndám*	
3f	*ḿ-páas*		*kâ mbáastám*	
Pl. 1	*ḿ-mín*		*ka-mịn*	
2	*ḿ-má*		*ka-má*	
3	*ḿ-plim/ḿ-anambẹẹn*		*ka ánambẹẹn.*	

4.2.2.4 Subject pronouns in indirect speech

The 3rd person subjunctive pronouns in indirect speech - usually following the verb *káa/gáa* 'to say', are:

Sg. 3m	*yi*	*e.g. mbɛ́ɛ́ndáɲ gáa yi yáàm*	he said he won't do (it)
3f	*ta*	*mbáastáɲ gáa ta yáàm*	she said she won't do (it)
Pl. 3	*yiní*	*mbíindáɲ gáa yiní yáàm*	they said they won't do (it).

The first and second subjects of these sentences are usually different.

4.2.3 The object pronoun

Direct and indirect object pronouns are identical in the 1st and 2nd persons but are generally distinct in the 3rd person.

	Direct object pronoun	Indirect object pronoun
Sg. 1	*-no/-nǫ, -n-*	*-no/-nǫ, -n-*
2m	*-ko/-kǫ, -k-*	*-ko/-kǫ, -k-*
2f	*-si/-sị, -z-/-s-*	*-si/-sị, -z-/-s-*)*
3m	*mbɛ́ɛ́ndâm*	*-ni/-nị*
3f	*mbáastâm*	*-to/-tǫ*
Pl. 1	*-mu/-mụ, -m-*	*-mu/-mụ, -m-*
2	*-ku/-kụ, -k-*	*-ku/-kụ, -k-*
3	*mbíindâm*	*-wu/-wụ.*

*) The subdialects of Kaltungo prefer *-z-*, whereas those of Ture prefer *-s-;* e.g. *n asízgǫ* (K) = *n asískǫ* (T) 'I awaited you'.

Whereas there is an *u/ụ* or *i/ị* vocalization in front of the suffixes in the singular pronouns, the plural persons are characterized by *-a-*. In the perfect tense the suffixes are placed between the verbal base and the tense marking suffix *-ko/-kǫ/-go/-gǫ;* e.g.

n ụtú-k-kǫ maadụ́ wáà	I taught you counting
ku ụtú-n-kǫ	you taught me
n ụtí-s-gǫ	I taught you (f.)
ma ụt-á-m-gụ	you (pl.) taught us
mịn ụt-á-k-kụ	we taught you (pl.)
n lǫ́-s-kǫ	I like(d) you (f.)
n lǫ́-k-kǫ	I like(d) you (m.)
m mondú-k-ko	I forgot you (m.)
m mondí-z-go	I forgot you (f.)

ma mondá-m-gụ	you forgot us
m monduk mbɛ́ɛ̣ndâm	I forgot him
m mon(d)go/monduk mbíindâm	I forgot them
mbɛ́ɛ̣ndám yụblú-n-gọ	he baptized me
n yụbụlgọ mbɛ́ɛ̣ndâm	I baptized him.

'Weak' verb base final consonants may or may not be elided in front of the object suffixes; e.g. *dobi* 'to call':

ka dó-n-go	you called me
ka dó-m-gu	you called us
n dó-k-ku	I called you (pl.)
(cf. *dóbú-n-go*	they called me
dóbú-k-ko	they called you (sg.)).

Examples with indirect object suffixes:

káa mín nɛ́ɛ̣dínị	(he) said (that) we should tell him
mbáastán gá(a) mó-k nɛ́ɛ̣dútọ	she said that you should tell her
(but cf. *mịn nẹ mbáastâm*	*we should tell her)*
káa mín nɛ́ɛ̣dáwụ	(he) said that we should tell them
aṇdúṇọ	pay me!
.... *mọ-ná nɛ́ɛ̣dúkọ*	that I tell you
.... *mọ-gá nɛ́ɛ̣dúṇọ*	that you tell me.

4.2.4 The possessive pronominal suffix

The two sets of possessive suffixes - according to the rules of vowel harmony - are:

	After noun stem with closed vowel (-ATR)	After noun stem with open vowel (+ATR)
Sg. 1	*-no*	*-nọ*
2m	*-ko/-go*	*-kọ/-gọ*
2f	*-si/-zi/-ji*	*-sị/-zị/-jị*
3m	*-ni*	*-nị*
3f	*-to/-do*	*-tọ-/dọ*
Pl. 1	*-mu*	*-mụ*
2	*-ku/-gu*	*-kụ/-gụ*
3	*-wu*	*-wụ.*

Though basically low, the tone of a suffix may be raised or the entire noun-suffix unit tonologically modified under certain morphosyntactic conditions; e.g.

sụmọ	name		*sụm-nọ*	my name
			sụm-nọ́ Kárga	my name is Karga
		but:	*sụ́m-nị*	his name
			sụ́m-nị Karga	his name is Karga
elus	saliva		*elus-no*	my saliva
		but:	*elus-nó kẹde*	my saliva is much
			elús-ni	his saliva
tọm	blood		*tọm-nọ*	my blood
			tọ́m-nị	his blood
			tọ́m-dọ	her blood
tọm	place		*tọm-nọ*	my place
			tọm-nị	his place
			tọm-dọ	her place
tọọm	strength		*tọọm-nọ*	my strength
		but:	*tọ́ọm-nị*	his strength
			tọọm-nọ́ kẹde	my strength is great.

The *-n-* of the 1st and 3rd person masculine suffixes is generally assimilated to noun or verb base final consonants when these are liquids; e.g.

yaara	arm	*yaar-nọ → yaarrọ*	my arm
		yaar-nị → yaarrị	his arm.

In the 3rd persons there are two distinct sets of possessive pronouns/suffixes depending on their syntactic use. When in an 'objective' position those given above are used; e.g.

á wɨ́b-nị it is his whistling.

In a 'subjective' position the absolute pronouns are used instead; e.g.

wịb mbḛ́ḛndâṇ dasa his whistling is bad.

4.3 Verb

The verbal form normally consists of three components, i.e. subject pronoun, TAM marker and verb stem. All three elements are variables according to the tense/aspect/mood (TAM) and/or gender which the verb in question expresses.

4.3.1 Tenses, 'aspects', moods

These are the principal conjugational sets or paradigms - tenses, 'aspects' or moods - in Tangale:

	CVV eat	CVC-, etc. beat
Imperative-Subjunctive	*saa*	*nánụ*
Aorist-Intentional	*na saa*	*na nanẹ*
Aorist-Subjunctive	*n saa*	*n nanẹ*
Progressive I	*naṇ saaṇị*	*naṇ nánị*
Future	*na wa saa(nị)*	*na wa nanị*
Perfect I	*n saagọ*	*n nangọ*
Perfect II	*n sáanụ*	*n nánnụ*
Progressive II	*na gúm saaṇị*	*na gúm nánị*
Habitual	*na gán sáayị/saa*	*na gán nánị/nanẹ.*

4.3.2 The verb base (VB)

All verb stems in Tangale are formed by suffixes which mainly consist of vowels. We refer to that which remains when we strip off those suffixes a verb base; we might also call it a vocalized root; e.g.

VB	*nan-* beat
Aorist stem	*nan-ẹ*
Progressive-Future stem	*nán-ị*
Perfect I stem	*nan-gọ*
Perfect II stem	*nán-nụ*
Imperative-Subjunctive stem	*nán-ụ.*

The following syllabic patterns - all monosyllabic - exist with verbal bases in Tangale: CVV, C_1VC_2-, $C_1V_1V_1C_2$-, $C_1VC_2C_3$- and $C_1VmC_2C_3$- as well as $C_1VC_2C_2$-. The majority is represented by the C_1VC_2-type, followed by $C_1V_1V_1C_2$-, $C_1VC_2C_2$-, and $C_1VmC_2C_3$-.

There are less than ten CVV verbs which again are probably reduced from a CVY- (= C_1VC_2-) base, e.g. *wẹẹ* 'to flee (from)', verbal noun *wẹyị*, thus *wẹẹ* going back to an older **wẹyẹ;* for 'to plant' both basic forms exist beside each other, that is *sọọ* and *sọyẹ* the verbal noun of which is *sọyị* (or even *sọọ;* e.g. *naṇ sọọ* 'I am planting').

Examples for the other syllable types are:

C_1VC_2-

dọl-	to swallow
sịp-	to urinate
duṇ-	to kneel down
sẹr-	to stand up

$C_1V_1V_1C_2$-

maad-	to read
doon-	to prepare
kụụg-	to move s.th.
sịịr-	to tear

$C_1VC_2C_3$-

sugd-	to tear (hole)
kumb-	to put
wurm-	to thatch
sịmb-	to meet

$C_1VmC_2C_3$-

timbl-	to make blind

$C_1VC_2C_2$-

kọll-	to danse
ball-	to write.

4.3.3 The plural or repetitive verb stem

Plural or repeated action is denoted by a special verb stem derived from the basic or singular verb stem by partial reduplication, suffixation and infixation. In repetitive action verbs verb class 2 ending in *-i/-ị* is being collapsed with class 1 *(-e/-ẹ)*; cf. 4.3.4. The following methods are applied:

4.3.3.1 Reduplication of final stem consonant

In the case of voiced consonants the reduplicated consonant may be devoiced in the Plural Intentional. The vocalic linker is *u/ụ*; e.g.

	Singular stem		Plural stem	
	Intent.	Past	Intent.	Past
to water	*pụkẹ*	*pụkkọ*	*pụkụkẹ*	*pụkụkkọ*
to fry	*kawẹ*	*kaụgọ*	*kawụwẹ*	*kawụwgọ*

to climb	*ambẹ*	*amgọ*	*ambụpẹ*	*ambụbgọ*
to hang up	*looge*	*lookko*	*looguke*	*loogukko*
to help	*woke*	*wokko*	*wokuke*	*wokukko*
to roast	*tẹlẹ*	*tẹlgọ*	*tẹlụlẹ*	*tẹlụlgọ.*

4.3.3.2 Suffixation of *-ḍ-*

	Singular stem		Plural stem	
to burn	*halị*	*halgọ*	*halụḍẹ*	*halụḍgọ*
to shoot	*pẹyị*	*pẹigọ*	*pẹiḍẹ*	*pẹiḍgọ*
to release	*wayị*	*waigọ*	*way(ụ)ḍẹ*	*way(ụ)ḍgọ.*

4.3.3.3 Suffixation of *-buḍ-/-bụḍ-*

This procedure is applied to CVV and certain 'weak' CVY-verbs only.

to eat	*saa*	*saagọ*	*saabụḍẹ*	*saabụḍgọ*
to see	*wee*	*weego*	*weebuḍe*	*weebuḍgo*
to put	*liịẹ*	*liịgọ*	*liịbụḍẹ*	*liịbụḍgọ*
to plant	*sọyẹ (sọọ)*	*sọọgọ*	*sọọbụḍẹ*	*sọọbụḍgọ.*

In one irregular case, the suffix is *-mbụḍ-;* it replaces the final stem consonant *r :*

to circumcise	*bẹrị*	*bẹrgọ*	*bẹmbụḍẹ*	*bẹmbụḍgọ.*

4.3.3.4 Infixation of *-p-*

The verbs applying this method have *d, ḍ, t* or *s* as final consonants. In the Intentional *d* and *ḍ* are devoiced to *t,* in the past, on the other hand, *t* becomes *d* and *s* becomes *z* before *-go/-gọ.*

	Singular stem		Plural stem	
	Intent.	Past	Intent.	Past
to eat (hard th.)	*edi*	*edgo*	*epte*	*epudgo*
to undress	*wụḍẹ*	*wụ'kọ*	*wụptẹ*	*wụpụdgọ*
to wash	*pụḍẹ*	*pụdgọ*	*pụptẹ*	*pụpụdgọ*
to begin	*kote*	*kotko*	*kopte*	*kopudgo*
to untie	*pẹḍẹ*	*pẹdgọ*	*pẹptẹ*	*pẹpụdgọ*
to close	*nasẹ*	*naskọ*	*napsẹ*	*napụzgọ.*

4.3.3.5 Devoicing of final consonants after long stem vowels

The devoicing of the final consonant accompanies the shortening of the preceding long vowel:

	Singular stem		Plural stem	
	Intent.	Past	Intent.	Past
to cover (hole)	*kwaazę*	*kwaazgǫ*	*kwasę*	*kwaskǫ*
to show teeth	*yįįzę*	*yįįzgǫ*	*yįsę*	*yįskǫ*
to support	*pęędę*	*pęędgǫ*	*pętę*	*pętkǫ*
to pluck	*dwaadę*	*dwaadgǫ*	*dwatę*	*dwatkǫ*
to fell	*kaazę*	*kaazgǫ*	*kasę*	*kaskǫ.*

4.3.3.5.1 Devoicing of C_2 (and C_3) in triconsonantal verbs

to tear (a hole)	*sugde*	*sugudgo*	*sukte*	*sukudgo.*

4.3.3.6 Glottalisation of the 2nd stem consonant

to take out	*podi*	*podgo*	*poḍe*	*po'ko*
to cut	*tįblę*	*tįbụlgǫ*	*tįblę*	*tįbụlgǫ.*

4.3.3.7 Augmentation by infixing -N- (*-n-, -ṇ- or -mb-*)

to tie	*kęrį*	*kęrgǫ*	*kęṇrę*	*kęṇụrgǫ*
to circumcise	*bęrį*	*bęrgǫ*	*bęmbrę*	*bęmbụrgǫ.*

4.3.3.8 Stem vowel lengthening

to break (stick)	*bęlį*	*bęlgǫ*	*bęęlį*	*bęęlgǫ.*

4.3.3.9 Prefixation of *k-*

There is only one verb which applies this method, namely *adį* 'to lift, take'. At the same time glottalization of the 2nd consonant takes place (cf. 4.3.3.6); in addition, *-p-* may be infixed (cf. 4.3.3.4).

to lift	*adį*	*adgǫ*	*kaḍę*	*ka'kǫ*
			kaptę	*kapụdgǫ.*

4.3.4 Verb classes (VC)

The language distinguishes between different groups of verbs - which we call here verb classes - by two methods, that is a phonological and a tonological one.

4.3.4.1 Phonologically, two verb classes can be traced from the shape of the aorist stem (cf. 4.3.6.1) which either ends in the suffix *-e/-ẹ* or *-i/-ị*.

Examples:

VC 1 *(-e/-ẹ)*		VC 2 *(-i/-ị)*	
hadẹ	to eat (meat)	*dọlị*	to swallow
mụgẹ	to vomit	*edi*	to chew, eat
ile	to stand up	*layị*	to give birth
wuge	to fall	*sẹrị*	to stand up
laarẹ	to creep	*woli*	to sing
tịklẹ	to tickle	*lọbị*	to like; to answer
sugde	to tear a hole	*mazị*	to ask.
monde	to let alone		
ballẹ	to write		

The overwhelming majority of the Tangale verbs fall under VC 1. VC 2 - comprising some 30 items - is limited to CVC-bases only whereas VC 1 contains any of the possible Tangale verb base types (cf. 4.3.2). It is worth noting that the C_2 of VC 2 verbs seem to be mainly liquids, nasals, */b/, /d/* and */y/*.

The CVV verbs may derive from either one; e.g.

	to flee (from)	*wẹẹ*	<	**wẹyẹ* (VC 1); cf. v.n. *wẹyị*
cf.	to put for drying			*weyi* (VC 2); cf. v.n. *wéyi*
	to plant	*sọọ*	<	*sọyẹ* (VC 1); cf. v.n. *sọyị*.

4.3.4.2 Verbs may be further classified according to whether they carry a high or a low tone. This distinction is well marked only with the subjunctive-imperative verb stem ending in *-u/-ụ* which displays the tone pattern either low-low or high-low; cf. also the respective perfect stem.

Examples (quoted in the subjunctive-imperative stem):

Tonal VC 1 (low-low)		Tonal VC 2 (high-low)	
kẹnụ	enter!	*túrụ*	jump!
uzu	cry!	*kwákụ*	scratch!
wịbụ	whistle!	*máadụ*	read!
sụmbụ	suck!	*láarụ*	creep!
sẹẹrụ	tell!	*pẹ́ṇrụ*	turn (it) around!
piyu	receive!	*kọ́llụ*	dance!
sịpụ	urinate!	*nánụ*	beat!
edu	chew, eat!	*táyụ*	greet!
yịsụ	sneeze!	*ámbụ*	mount!
tịklụ	tickle!	*ílu*	wake up!

The two tonal verb classes are represented in approximately equal numbers. All base syllable patterns - CVC-, CVVC- and CVCC- - occur in both classes; the monoradical CVV verbs are low and thus belong to the tonal VC 1.

4.3.5.5. Basic verb stems

4.3.5.1 Active and passive verbal noun stem

The active verbal noun stem is being treated under the progressive-future verbal noun stem (cf. 4.3.6.3) the most characteristic feature of it being the final vowel *-i/-ị*, e.g. *saa* 'to eat': *saanị* 'act of eating', *yaa* 'to do': *yaazị* 'act of doing', *yịbẹ* 'to start': *yịpị* 'act of starting'.

The passive verbal noun stem mostly ends in *-o/-ọ*, in some cases in *-a*, quite often both suffixes are documented. Its tone pattern is either low-low(-low) or high-low(-low), exactly as is the case with the active stem. CVV verbs use the same 'carrier' consonants in the passive as in the active verbal noun stem, that is *-n-* for *saa* 'to eat': *saana* 'act of being eaten', *-z-* for all the others, e.g. *ẹẹ* 'to drink': *ẹẹzọ* 'act of being drunk', *yaazọ* 'act of being done'. Devoicing of the last consonant also takes place with final labial plosives, as for instance in *lọpa* 'act of being liked/accepted/answered' from *lọbị* 'to like, etc.' (active VN: *lọpị*), *yịpa* 'act of being started' from *yịbẹ* 'to start' (active VN: *yịpị*).

With certain verbs - middle voice verbs ? - the 'passive' verbal noun may be used 'actively' though with a particular connotation; e.g.

naṇ seli	I am begging (just now)	:	*naṇ selo*	I am habitually begging, I am a beggar.

Examples:

	Aorist-Intent. stem	Active verbal noun	Passive verbal noun
to pound	*sụkẹ*	*sụkị*	*sụkọ*
to marry	*wụlẹ*	*wụ́lị*	*wụ́lọ/wụ́la*
to straighten	*sụpẹ*	*sụpị*	*sụpọ/sụpa*
to dig out	*ope*	*opi*	*opo/opa*
to teach	*ụbẹ/ụpẹ*	*ụ́pị*	*ụpọ/ụpa*
to like	*lọbị*	*lọpị*	*lọpa*
to call	*dobi*	*dopi*	*dopa*
to bend s.th.	*kọọnẹ*	*kọọnị*	*kọọnọ*
to pull	*soli*	*sóli*	*sólo*
to press	*sonde*	*sondi*	*sondo*
to start	*tobi*	*topi*	*topo/topa*
to cover	*wobi*	*wopi*	*wopo/wopa*
to crack	*bịzẹ*	*bị́zị*	*bị́zọ*
to stir	*mike*	*miki*	*miko*
to put	*lịyẹ*	*lịịzị*	*lịịzọ*
to ripen	*nịyẹ*	*nịịzị*	*nịịzọ*
to cut open	*pịdẹ*	*pịtị*	*pịtọ*
to cut off	*sịlẹ*	*sị́lị*	*sị́lọ*
to bite off	*yịsẹ*	*yịsị*	*yịsọ*
to grumble	*lịịrẹ*	*lịịrị*	*lịịrọ*
to take out	*podi*	*podgi*	*poduk*
to take	*adị*	*adgị*	*aduk.*

Some practical phrases with the passive verbal noun:

am wa ẹẹzọ	(the) water will be drunk
wa mọ njáana wa saana	(the) food will be eaten
wụtẹn wa yaazọ	(the) work will be done
wii wa kụsọ	(the) fire will be blown up
mbáastám wa lọpa	she will be liked
waa wa doono	(the) thing will be prepared
mána wa wurmo	(the) house will be thatched
waa wa poduk	(the) thing will be taken out.

With intransitive verbs (i.e. also verbs being conceived as intransitive in Tangale!) the *-o/-ọ* (or *-a*) stem is a regular verbal noun form; e.g.

Aorist-Intent. verb stem		Verbal noun	
yẹkẹ	to descend	*yẹkọ*	descending
ambẹ	to mount	*ambọ*	mounting
pụụdẹ	to arrive	*pụụdọ*	arriving
laarẹ	to creep	*laara*	creeping
ịsẹ	to sneeze	*ísa*	sneezing
dawẹ	to defecate	*dáwọ*	defecating
sẹrị	to stand up	*sẹ́rọ/sẹ́rị*	standing up
tụrẹ	to jump	*tụ́rọ*	jumping
kọllẹ	to dance	*kọllọ*	dancing.

4.3.5.2 The Altrilocal-Ventive or Distance stem

Corresponding to the o-stem (grade 6) in Hausa, Tangale also expresses action carried out at a distance from the speaker or/and directed towards the speaker by a special verb stem which we call here altrilocal-ventive or distance stem. Such a special stem, however, exists only in the aorist-intentional and in the perfect tense, the morphemes being the suffix *-tu/-tụ (-du/-dụ)* and *-na,* respectively. The other tenses, etc. make no distinction regarding this category.

Verb base		Aorist-Intent. stem		Perfect stem	
		(away from here)	(towards here)	(away from here)	(towards here)
sak-	to descend	*sakẹ*	*saktụ*	*sakkọ*	*sakna*
tug-	to pound	*tuge*	*tugdu*	*tukko*	*tugna*
war-	to go	*warẹ*	*watụ*	*wargọ*	*wana*
pọd-	to go out	*pọ́dị*	*pọtụ*	*pọdgọ*	*pọna*
kẹn-	to enter	*kẹ́nị*	*kẹndụ*	*kẹngọ*	*kẹnna*
yẹk-	to go down	*yẹkẹ*	*yẹktụ*	*yẹkkọ*	*yẹkna*
amb-	to mount	*ambẹ*	*amdụ*	*amgọ*	*amna*
saa	to eat	*saa*	*saadụ*	*saagọ*	*saana*
yaa	to do	*yaa*	*yaadụ*	*yaagọ*	*yaana*
nẹẹ	to say	*nẹẹ*	*nẹẹdụ*	*nẹẹgọ*	*nẹẹna*
lọb-	to like	*lọbị*	*lọtụ*	*lọkọ*	*lọna.*

There are instances where in addition to the voiced/voiceless opposition there is also the basic *-e/-ę* vs. *-i/-į* contrast; e.g. *na pịdę* 'I open (a wound)': *naṇ pịtị* 'I am opening'. At any rate, the verbal noun never ends in *-e/-ę*.

With intransitive-medial verbs the suffix vowel is the - otherwise passive - suffix vowel *-o/-ǫ*; e.g.

na lịịrę	I grumble	:	*naṇ lịịrǫ*	I am grumbling
na duṇe	I bow (myself) down	:	*naṇ dúṇo*	I am bowing (myself) down
na yụblę	I dive	:	*naṇ yụblǫ*	I am diving
na kombe	I meet	:	*naṇ kombo*	I am meeting (intr.)
		but:	*naṇ kombi*	I am meeting s.o.

There are a few intransitive verbs the verbal noun of which displays the suffix vowel *-a;* e.g.

na laarę	I creep	:	*naṇ laara*	I am creeping.

The CVV verbs behave differently. Most of them (5 + 2) add the suffix *-zi/-zị* only two *-ni/-nị:*

to eat	*saa*	:	*saanị*
to touch	*taa*	:	*taanị*
to drink	*ęę (< *ęyị?)*	:	*ęęzị* (or *ęyị*)
to do	*yaa*	:	*yaazị*
to see	*wee*	:	*weezi*
to fetch water	*kwee (< *kweyi?)*	:	*kweezi* (or *kwéyi*)
to say	*nęę*	:	*nęęzị* (or *nęyị*).

There are two verbs of the CVY syllabic type which may form their verbal noun also by the suffix *-zi/-zị:*

to put for drying	*wey-i*	:	*wei-zi* (or *wéy-i*)
to shoot	*pẹy-ị*	:	*pẹị-zị.*

sẹę 'to cut' is the only CVV verb which adds a suffix *-gị* in forming its verbal noun: *sẹęgị*; an alternative form is *séyị* which hints at an original base **sẹy-* (> *sẹę*).

na dẹrị	I (will) pour	*amị́ dẹ́rị́*	the water will be pc
na wee	I (will) see	*na wéè*	I will be seen/am s
na ẹẹ	I (will) drink	*amị́ ẹ́ẹ̀*	the water will be d
na kụlẹ	I (will) shave	*na kúlẹ*	I will be shaved/ar
na lọbị	I (will) like	*na lóbị*	I will be liked/am
na dibe	I (will) cook	*na díbe*	I will be cooked/a
na tẹlẹ	I (will) roast	*na tẹ́lẹ*	I will be roasted/a
na halị	I (will) burn	*na hálị*	I will be burned/a
na yẹdẹ	I (will) exchange	*na yẹ́dẹ*	I will change mys
na pẹyị	I (will) shoot	*na pẹ́yị*	I will be shot.

With certain verbs ending in *-e/-ẹ* the feature glottal stop closing seems to be the only mark of the passive nature of the stem; e.g.

na daụdẹ	I (will) abuse	*na daụdẹ'*	I will be abused/a
na bụdẹ	I (will) steep	*na bụdẹ'*	I will rot (be stee
na hadẹ	I (will) eat	*na hadẹ'*	I will be eaten/an

4.3.6.3 The Subjunctive-Imperative verb stem

The Subjunctive mood is double marked: firstly by a reduced set of (cf. 4.2.2.3) and secondly by a particular verb stem ending in *-u/-ụ;* this as an imperative when used without a subject pronoun. For example:

Aorist stem		Subjunctive		Imperative
yịlẹ	to lift	*dí mọ́n yịlụ*	let me lift!	*yịlụ*
ụpẹ	to show	*dí mọ́n úpụ*	let me show!	*úpụ*

4.3.6.4 The Progressive-Future verbal noun stem

The two tenses, Progressive and ('Long') Future, use the same verba verbal noun stem. This stem is made up of the verbal base and the transitive verbs and the suffix *-o/-ọ* or *-a* with intransitive ones (cf. 4.3. aorist stem already ends in *-i/-ị*, the progressive-future stem is distingu tone on the stem syllable; e.g. *na toli* 'I dig out': *naṇ tóli* 'I am digging ou there is a double-marking, i.e. *-e/-ẹ* vs. *-i/-ị* plus low tone vs. high tone; off': *naṇ sḭ́lị* 'I am cutting off'. In other cases the distinction between the and the infinite progressive-future stem is marked by a voiced/voiceless

na tobi	I start	:	*naṇ topi*	I am starting
na wobi	I put and cover	:	*naṇ wopi*	I am putting

There are instances where in addition to the voiced/voiceless opposition there is also the basic *-e/-ẹ* vs. *-i/-ị* contrast; e.g. *na pịdẹ* 'I open (a wound)': *naṇ pịtị* 'I am opening'. At any rate, the verbal noun never ends in *-e/-ẹ*.

With intransitive-medial verbs the suffix vowel is the - otherwise passive - suffix vowel *-o/-ọ*; e.g.

na lịịrẹ	I grumble	:	*naṇ lịịrọ*	I am grumbling
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na yụblẹ	I dive	:	*naṇ yụblọ*	I am diving
na kombe	I meet	:	*naṇ kombo*	I am meeting (intr.)
		but:	*naṇ kombi*	I am meeting s.o.

There are a few intransitive verbs the verbal noun of which displays the suffix vowel *-a;* e.g.

na laarẹ	I creep	:	*naṇ laara*	I am creeping.

The CVV verbs behave differently. Most of them (5 + 2) add the suffix *-zi/-zị* only two *-ni/-nị:*

to eat	*saa*	:	*saanị*
to touch	*taa*	:	*taanị*
to drink	*ẹẹ (< *ẹyị?)*	:	*ẹẹzị* (or *ẹ́yị*)
to do	*yaa*	:	*yaazị*
to see	*wee*	:	*weezi*
to fetch water	*kwee (< *kweyi?)*	:	*kweezi* (or *kwéyi*)
to say	*nẹẹ*	:	*nẹẹzị* (or *nẹ́yị*).

There are two verbs of the CVY syllabic type which may form their verbal noun also by the suffix *-zi/-zị:*

to put for drying	*wey-i*	:	*wei-zi* (or *wéy-i*)
to shoot	*pẹy-ị*	:	*pẹị-zị.*

sẹẹ 'to cut' is the only CVV verb which adds a suffix *-gị* in forming its verbal noun: *sẹẹgị*; an alternative form is *sẹ́yị* which hints at an original base **sẹy-* (> *sẹẹ*).

4.3.6.5 The Perfect I verb stem

The characteristic feature of the perfect I stem is the low tone suffix *-go/-gǫ* (after voiceless consonants: *-ko/-kǫ*) which is added to the verb base. With both verb classes this stem has a low tone throughout. Examples:

Verb base		Perfect I stem	
tay-	to greet	*taigǫ*	to have greeted
nan-	to beat	*nangǫ*	
piy-	to receive	*piigo*	*(<piygo)*
kẹn-	to enter	*kẹngǫ*	
kẹnd-	to swear	*kẹndgǫ*	
amb-	to mount	*amgǫ*	
wịb-	to whistle	*wịbgǫ*	
kwag-	to scratch	*kwakkǫ*	
tịkl-	to tickle	*tịkụlgǫ*	
pẹnr-	to turn around	*pẹnụrgǫ*	
wug-	to fall	*wukko*	
had	to eat (meat)	*ha'kǫ*	
sịp-	to urinate	*sịpkǫ*	
saa	to eat	*saagǫ.*	

When *-go/-gǫ (-ko/-kǫ)* is suffixed to the verb base the following phonetic adaptations usually take place:

- base final consonant clusters are separated by a vocalic glide, e.g. *tịkl → tịkụl-*; prenasalized stops are reduced to the nasal element, e.g. *amb- → am-, mond- → mon-*;
- base final glottalized consonants are reduced to glottal stops, e.g. *had- → ha'-*;
- final voiced velar plosives in a CVC-base select the voiceless quality of the suffix consonant and become voiceless; e.g. *mug- → muk-ko*;
- final voiced labial plosives in a CVC-base are clipped entirely in front of the perfect I suffix which here appears in its voiceless variant; e.g. 'to like' *lọb- → lọkọ;* 'to cook' *dib- → diko;* 'to reply' *tọb- → tọkọ.*

4.3.6.6 The Perfect II verb stem

The suffix of the perfect II stem is a low tone *-nu/-nụ* regularly preceded by a high tone syllable; with a number of verbs and under certain conditions this suffix is metathesized to *-ûn/-ụ̂n* the tone of which is high-low falling which is obviously triggered off by the preceding syllable being always low. Examples:

Verb base		Perfect II stem	
(1)			
mụg-	to vomit	*múg-nụ*	
lay-	to give birth	*láị-nụ*	
diy-	to sit (down)	*díi-nu*	
wol-	to sing	*wól-lu*	*(< *wól-nu)*
pọn-	to know	*pọ́n-nụ*	
sẹr-	to stand up	*sẹ́r-rụ*	*(< *sẹ́r-nụ)*
wụd-	to send	*wụ́n-nụ*	*(< *wụ́d-nụ)*
war-	to go (and come)	*wán-nụ*	*(< *wár-nụ)*
pọd-	to go out	*pọ́n-nụ*	*(< *pọ́d-nụ)*
ụb-	to show	*ụ́-nụ*	*(< *ụ́b-nụ).*
(2)			
yẹk-	to go down	*yẹk-ụ̂n*	
maz-	to ask	*maz-ụ̂n*	
hịs-	to sneeze	*hịs-ụ̂n*	
haḍ-	to eat	*haḍ-ụ̂n*	
sịp-	to urinate	*sịp-ụ̂n*	
daw-	to defecate	*daw-ụ̂n*	
duṇ-	to kneel down	*duṇ-ûn*	
il-	to wake up	*il-ûn*	
amb-	to mount	*amb-ụ̂n*	
kẹnd-	to swear	*kẹnd-ụ̂n*	
wịb-	to whistle	*wịb-ụ̂n*	
sụmb-	to suck	*sụmb-ụ̂n*	
sẹẹr-	to tell	*sẹẹr-ụ̂n*	
tịkl-	to tickle	*tịkl-ụ̂n.*	

Which of the two suffix sets is used, may depend on the syllabic structure and/or the quality of the final consonant of the verbal base, but no definitive rules of distribution have so far been established. With liquids the initial nasal of the suffix is generally assimilated, i.e. e.g. *-l + -n- > -ll-;* as to the - normally voiced - plosive consonants, they are either apocopated when the suffix is added thus producing a secondary CV base or they are assimilated to the *-n-* of the suffix; *g* and *z* are usually kept as such in front of the suffix; e.g.

n sáanụ	(as) I ate (again)	cf. *saa*	to eat
n ẹ́ẹnụ	(as) I drank (again)	cf. *ẹẹ*	to drink
n tónu	(as) I started (again)	cf. *tobi*	to start
n lọ́nụ	(as) I liked (again)	cf. *lọbị*	to like
n ụ́nụ	(as) I taught (again)	cf. *ụbẹ*	to teach
n kụ́nụ	(as) I refused (again)	cf. *kụdẹ*	to refuse
n wụ́nnụ	(as) I farmed (again)	cf. *wụdị*	to farm
n pónnu	(as) I took out (again)	cf. *podi*	to take out
n túgnu	(as) I pounded (again)	cf. *tuge*	to pound.

Obviously, the *-ûn/-ụ̂n* morpheme may be suffixed to any syllable base type, whereas the shape *-nu/-nụ* seems to be restricted to the CVV and CVC types. The latter statement is also confirmed by the way in which the plural stems of the CVV and a few CVC-verbs are formed. Examples:

Verb base		Singular stem	Plural stem
saa	to eat	*sáanụ*	*saabụdụ̂n*
wee	to see	*wéenu*	*weebudûn*
sọy- (sọọ)	to plant	*sọ́ọnụ*	*sọọbụdụ̂n*
lịy-	to put	*lịịnụ*	*lịịbụdụ̂n*
lọb-	to like	*lọ́nụ*	*lọbụdụ̂n.*

4.3.6.7 The Habitual verb stem

The Habitual verb stem is generally marked by a suffix *-i/-ị (-yi/-yị)* which is not added to the verb base but to the aorist-intentional stem (cf. 4.3.6.1), the latter being thus raised from low/low-low(-low) to high/high-low(-low). Examples:

Aorist-Intent. stem		Habitual stem
saa	to eat	*sáayị*
ẹẹ	to drink	*ẹ́ẹyị*
pẹyị	to shoot	*pẹ́yịị*
lọbị	to like	*lọ́bịị*
podi	to take out	*pódii*
adị	to take	*ádịị.*

4.3.6.8 The Passive Perfect Participle stem (P.P.P.)

The P.P.P. stem in Tangale is formed by the low tone suffix *-zi/-zị (-ji/-jị, -si/-sị)* which is added to the verb base. The final consonant of the verb base is being clipped if it is a voiced plosive (*b* or *d*). The stem has a low-low(-low) tone pattern although the first syllable usually carries a strong stress.

Verb base		P.P.P. stem		Cf. the VN stem	
				active	passive
saa	to eat	*saajị*	eaten	*saanị*	*saana*
ẹẹ	to drink	*ẹẹjị*	drunk	*ẹẹzị*	*ẹẹzọ*
yaa	to do	*yaazị*	done	*yaazị*	*yaazọ*
sọọ/sọy-	to plant	*sọọjị*	planted	*sọọwị*	*sọyọ*
wee	to see	*weezi*	seen	*weezi*	*weezo*
pẹy-	to shoot	*pẹịzị*	shot	*pẹịzị*	*pẹịzọ (pẹyọ)*
lọb-	to like	*lọsị*	liked	*lọpị*	*lọpa*
pod-	to take out	*posi*	taken out	*podgi*	*poduk*
dib-	to cook	*disi*	cooked	*dipi*	*dipo.*

4.3.7 Conjugations

There are two patterns of conjugation in Tangale - those using prefixes and those using 'ambifixes' or suffixes.

Transitive verbs are conjugated by the prepositioning of subject pronouns, intransitive verbs by subject pronominal suffixes which, in addition, are usually preceded by the subject pronouns used with transitive verbs.

4.3.7.1 Transitive conjugational sets ('prefix conjugation')

There are at least eight conjugational sets or tense paradigms in Kaltungo-Tangale which are distinguished by the form of the subject pronouns placed in front of the verb stem and/or by the structure of the verb stem itself (cf. 4.3.1).

4.3.7.1.1 The Intentional ('Short future') (cf. 4.2.2.1)

This is what may be called a 'Grundaspekt', i.e. one of the two most basic verbal forms of the language. The (mainly) low tone subject pronouns (4.2.2.1) are combined with the aorist verb stem (4.3.6.1); e.g.

na yịlẹ	I (will) take
ka saa	you (m.) (will) eat

sị ẹẹ	you (f.) (will) drink
mbẹ́ẹ́ndám/-dâm wee	he sees/will see.

The negative Intentional is formed by adding the (in this context high tone) morpheme *-ḿ*; e.g.

na kụlẹ	I will shave	:	*na kụlẹ́m*	I will not shave
na saa	I will eat	:	*na sàám*	I will not eat.

4.3.7.1.2 The Aorist

The verb *saa* 'to eat' is conjugated in the aorist as follows:

Sg.	1	*n saa*	I eat/ate
	2m	*ka saa*	you eat/ate
	2f	*sị saa*	etc.
	3m	*mbẹ́ẹ́ndám/mbẹ́ẹ́ndâm saa*	
	3f	*mbáastám/mbáastâm saa*	
	1	*mịn saa*	
	2	*ma saa*	
	3	*mbĺindám/mbĺindâm/anambẹẹn saa.*	

4.3.7.1.3 The Subjunctive

This form is generally used in dependent clauses and preceded by an introductory morpheme - either by *dí mọ́* or by *káa/gáa mọ́.*

a)

Sg.	1	*dí mọ́-n yịlụ*	that I take, let me take (it)
	2m	*dí mọ́-k yịlụ*	that you take, etc.

b)

Sg.	1	*mbẹ́ẹ́ndám gáa mọ́-n yịlụ*	he said I should take (it)
	2m	*mbẹ́ẹ́ndám gáa mọ́-k*	he said that you should
	2f	*mbẹ́ẹ́ndám gáa mọ́-s*	etc.
	3m	*mbẹ́ẹ́ndám gáa ḿ-pẹ́ẹ́m*	
	3f	*mbẹ́ẹ́ndám gáa ḿ-páas*	
Pl.	1	*mbẹ́ẹ́ndám gáa ḿ-mịn*	
	2	*mbẹ́ẹ́ndám gáa ḿ-má*	
	3	*mbẹ́ẹ́ndám gáa ḿ-pĺim/ḿ-anambẹẹn.*	

When followed by a nominal object the (shortened) verb stem remains low whereas the tone of the object noun is raised to high or falling; e.g.

dí mọ́-n ẹ âm	that I drink water
dí mọ́-n ya wúṭẹn	that I work
dí mọ́-n nẹ sába	that I speak
dí mọ́-n we múù	that I see somebody.

It is noteworthy - and should be investigated more closely - that the verb stem ends in a glottal stop in the subjunctive mood. Thus, phonetically, we have [*mọ́-n ẹẹ'*] 'that I drink', but [*n ẹẹ*] 'I drank/drink'.

4.3.7.1.4 The Absolute Progressive-Continuous

The progressive form is made up of a - partly - high tone subject pronoun (cf. 4.2.1.2) which is augmented by a low tone suffix *-(u)ṇ/-(ụ)ṇ* and a verbal noun (cf. 4.3.6.6). The paradigm runs as follows:

Sg.	1	*na-ṇ koobo*	I am passing
	2m	*ká-ṇ̀ koobo*	you are passing
	2f	*sí-ṇ̀ koobo*	etc.
	3m	*mbẹ́ẹndám-ụṇ koobo*	
	3f	*mbáastám-ụṇ koobo*	
Pl.	1	*miní-ṇ̀ koobo*	
	2	*má-ṇ̀ koobo*	
	3	*anambẹẹna-ṇ koobo.*	

When there is a nominal subject the bound morpheme *-(u)ṇ/-(ụ)ṇ* is added directly to the noun; e.g. *la-lútu-ṇ timbul múù* '(the) hyena is blinding a man'.

4.3.7.1.5 The Dependent Progressive-Continuous

The subject pronouns and the verbal noun form are the same in this paradigm as in the absolute progressive; it is, however, formed without the addition of *-(u)ṇ/-(ụ)ṇ* to the pronoun; e.g.

Sg.	1	*na koobo*	(when/as/while) I am/was passing
	2m	*ká koobo*	(when/as/while) you (m.) are/were passing
	2f	*sí koobo*	etc.
	3m	*mbẹ́ẹndâm koobo*	
	3f	*mbáastâm koobo*	

Pl.	1	*mịnį́ koobo*
	2	*máa koobo*
	3	*anambẹẹna koobo.*

Another dependent progressive form is composed of the above set plus an inserted free morpheme, *kúm/gúm*; quite often the verbal noun stem is used here.

e.g.	*na gúm koobo*	(when/as/while) I am/was passing
	na gúm weezi	(when/as/while) I am/was seeing
	na gúm saan pọọ, mbẹ́ẹndám watọn	while I was eating, he came.

4.3.7.1.6 The ('long') Future

As well as the 'short' future or Intentional form (cf. 4.3.7.1.1) there is a 'long' form expressing the proper future which is made up of the high tone subject pronoun, the tense marker *wa* and the progressive-future verbal noun stem (cf. 4.3.6.4); e.g.

Sg.	1	*na wa saanį*	I shall eat
	2m	*ká wa saanį*	etc.
	2f	*sį́ wa saanį*	
	3m	*mbẹ́ẹndâm wa saanį*	
	3f	*mbáastâm wa saanį*	
Pl.	1	*mịnį́ wa saanį*	
	2	*má wa saanį*	
	3	*mbį́ịndam/anambẹẹna wa saanį.*	

Instead of the long verbal noun form the short finite verb stem may also be used; e.g.

na wa saanį	or	*na wa saa*	I shall eat
na wa saan pọ́ọ̀	or	*na wa sá pọọ*	I shall eat (the) meal
na wa ẹẹz âm	or	*na wa ẹ́ am*	I shall drink water
na wa weez múù	or	*na wa wé muu*	I shall see (the) man.

In normal or somewhat accelerated speech the pronoun + *wa* combination may be compressed and fused in the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural to yield the following paradigm:

Sg.	1	*naa saa(nį)*	I shall eat
	2m	*káà saa(nį)*	etc.
	2f	*sį́į̀ saa(nį)*	
Pl.	1	*mịnį́į̀ saa(nį)*	
	2	*máà saa(nį).*	

4.3.7.1.7 The Perfect

Completed action is represented by the following paradigm which combines the basic subject pronoun that is also used in the aorist (cf. 4.3.7.1.2 and 4.3.6.1) with the perfect verb stem (cf. 4.3.6.5):

Sg.	1	*n saagǫ*	I ate, have eaten
	2m	*ka saagǫ*	etc.
	2f	*sị saagǫ*	
	3m	*mbɛ́ɛ́ndám saagǫ*	
	3f	*mbáastám saagǫ*	
Pl.	1	*mịn saagǫ*	
	2	*ma saagǫ*	
	3	*anambɛɛn saagǫ.*	

In general the tone of the verb stem syllable is low regardless of the verbal class the verb belongs to.

When there is a direct object following the verb stem, the final vowel of the latter is generally clipped; e.g. *n saag pǫǫ* 'I have eaten (the) porridge'.

If the verb stem contains more than one consonant, an epenthetic vowel *-u-/-ụ-* is inserted between the last stem consonant and the *-k (< *-k(ǫ))* of the perfect suffix; e.g.

n pɛyụk túrum	I shot a lion
n kwaalụk mɛ́ɛ̀	I killed a goat
n wụnụk kadị	I skinned a goat (lit.: '... the skin')
n wụpụk yalam	I rubbed in oil.

However, there are exceptions, the governing conditions of which are not yet determined; e.g.

n upko bâ (and not: * *n upuk bâ)*	I dug a hole
píd timbulgo saụ	(the) tree spoiled (the) guinea-corn.

Compare the following pair of examples between which there is a subtle syntactic distinction:

mịn weegó dwaadị	we saw somebody plucking
mịn weeg dwaadị	we saw (the action of) plucking.

Free variation between the full form and the apocopated form may also be observed; e.g.

m padgǫ/padụk dôm	I bought eggs.

4.3.7.1.8 Dependent or Repetitive Perfect (Perfect II)

In this paradigm the same subject pronouns are used as in the perfect tense (cf. 4.3.7.1.7). The verb stem is made up of the verb base and the suffix *-nu/-nụ* or *-ûn/-ụ̂n* (cf. 4.3.6.4).

Examples:

Sg.	1	*n sáanụ*	(as) I ate (again)
	2m	*ka ɛ́ɛnụ*	(as) you drank (again)
	2f	*sị lɔ́nụ*	(as) you liked (again)
	3m	*mbɛ́ɛndám ụ́nụ*	(as) he taught (again)
	3f	*mbáastám sóllu*	(as) she pulled (again)
Pl.	1	*mịn sondûn*	(as) we pressed (again)
	2	*ma kụ́llụ*	(as) you shaved (again)
	3	*anambɛɛn túgnu*	(as) they pounded (again).

4.3.7.1.9 The Habitual

The habitual tense is constructed with the aorist subject pronouns plus either the special habitual stem (cf. 4.3.6.5) or the aorist-intentional stem (cf. 4.3.6.1), the two elements being connected by the specific morpheme *kán/gán* (cf. Hausa *kan*).

Examples:

Sg.	1	*na gán kụlẹ/kụ́lɛ́yị*	I usually shave
	2m	*ka gán kụlẹ/kụ́lɛ́yị*	etc.
	2f	*sị gán kụlẹ/kụ́lɛ́yị*	
	3m	*mbɛ́ɛndám gán kụlẹ/kụ́lɛ́yị*	
	3f	*mbáastám gán kụlẹ/kụ́lɛ́yị*	
Pl.	1	*mịn gán kụlẹ/kụ́lɛ́yị*	
	2	*ma gán kụlẹ/kụ́lɛ́yị*	
	3	*mbĭindám/anambɛɛn gán kụlẹ/kụ́lɛ́yị.*	

N.B. With the first person singular the following metathesized form also occurs:

ṇa ná kụlẹ (< **ga(n) ná kụlẹ).*

4.3.7.2 Intransitive conjugational sets (suffix or 'ambifixal' conjugation)

Intransitive verbs may follow a special method of conjugation whereby the subject markers are regularly suffixed. In addition, the otherwise prepositioned subject pronouns may be used. The number of verb stems used here is limited to two, i.e. an aorist or non-perfect stem and a perfect stem.

4.3.7.2.1 The non-Perfect intransitive conjugation

Sg.	1	*ambṵ́-nọ*	I mount(ed)
	2m	*ambṵ́-kọ*	etc.
	2f	*ambḭ́-sḭ*	
	3m	*ambḭ́-nḭ*	
	3f	*ambṵ́-tọ*	
Pl.	1	*ambá-mụ*	
	2	*ambá-kụ*	
	3	*ambá-wụ.*	

This type of set may be employed with the prepositioned subject pronouns of the aorist-intentional, progressive-continuous, future or habitual, thus yielding forms for which the following may serve as examples:

m badṵ́nọ	I start to
naṇ ambṵ́nọ	I am mounting
kâṇ ambṵ́kọ	you are mounting
naṇ sḛ́ṛṵ́nọ	I am standing
naṇ sḛ́ṛtṵ́nọ	I am standing there
naṇ tḭ́dṵ́nọ	I am sleeping (here)
naṇ tḭ́tṵ́nọ	I am sleeping (there)
naṇ bḛ́lṵ́nọ	I am crossing (here)
naṇ bḛ́ldṵ́nọ	I am crossing (there)
naṇ yḛkṵ́nọ	I am descending (here)
naṇ yḛktṵ́nọ	I am descending (there)
naṇ wḛ́ḛnọ	I am fleeing
na wa yḛkṵ́nọ	I shall descend
na gán yḛkṵ́nọ	I usually descend.

In the 3m/3f singular a common prepositioned subject pronoun *áṇ* is used;

e.g.	*áṇ kụụgínḭ*	it/he draws near
	áṇ kụụgúṭọ	it/she draws near.

Typical imperative forms are:

	wakǫ (m.)/*wasị* (f.)/*ma wakụ* (pl.)	go!
cf.	*naṇ wánǫ*	I am going
	kâṇ wak njo	where are you going?

4.3.7.2.2 The Perfect intransitive conjugation

There is only one intransitive perfect form - ending with the suffix *-ko/-kǫ/-go/-gǫ* (cf. 4.3.6.5). This suffix is fused with the non-perfect intransitive conjugational set (cf. 4.3.7.2.1) to form a single apocopated subject pronominal suffix set. In general the low tone perfect subject pronouns are prepositioned in the first and second persons singular and plural as well.

Examples:

Sg.	1	*n*	*sịdúngǫ*	*(< *sịd-ú-nó-gǫ)*	I returned
	2m	*ka*	*sídúkkǫ*		etc.
	2f	*sị*	*sídízgǫ*		
	3m	–	*sịdíigǫ*	*(< *sịd-í-ní-gǫ)*	
	3f	–	*sịdúdgǫ/sịdúrgǫ*	*(< *sịd-ú-dó-gǫ)*	
Pl.	1	*mịn*	*sídámgụ*		
	2	*ma*	*sídákkụ*		
	3		*sídáugụ*		

Other examples are:

n wẹ́ngǫ, ka wẹ́kkǫ, etc.	I fled, you fled, etc.
mbáastám láịdgǫ	she has given birth
miíndám láyáugǫ	they have given birth
manjíigǫ	he is/has grown old
manjúrgǫ	she is/has grown old
m mụdúngǫ/mụdgǫ	I have died
anambẹẹn muptáugụ/mupụdgụ	they have died

n	*wángǫ*	I went
ka	*wákkǫ*	etc.
sị	*wáskǫ*	
	wáigǫ	
	wátkǫ	
mịn	*wámgụ*	

ma wákkụ
wáụgụ

amị kwáḍúrgọ / am kwa'kọ	the water finished
muu kwaḍaụgụ	the people finished
n yụblúngọ	I dived (said while in the water)
(cf. *n yụbụlgọ*	I dived (said while out of the water)).

4.4 Negation

There is one single morpheme for both nominal and verbal expression of negation, that is the suffix *-m*. The tone accompanying this morpheme may be high or low depending on the overt or underlying tonal structure of the expression - nominal or verbal form - to be negated.

Examples:

muu	man, person	*mu-m*	not a man, nobody
waa	a thing	*wa-m*	not a thing, nothing
naṇ kụlẹ	I am shaving	*na kụlẹ-m*	I am not shaving
naṇ saanị	I am eating	*na saaní-m*	I am not eating
naṇ saana	I am (being) eaten	*na saana-m*	I am not (being) eaten
na wee	I will see	*na wèé-m*	I will not see
na wéè	I will be seen	*na wéè-m*	I will not be seen
na lọbị	I will like	*na lọbí-m*	I will not like
na lọ́bị	I will be liked	*na lọ́bị-m*	I will not be liked.

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